THE

Hindu Message

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The Hindu Message stands for

(1) Self-Government for India within the British Commonwealth,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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A Vision of India.

INDIA'S FEDERAL POLITY

BY K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B.A., B.L.,

What great and glorious kings adorned the line
Sprung from the sun as bright benignant source!
Though Time's unhasting and unresting course
Hath not of it left e'en faint outer sign,
The Past's swift-gathering night cannot confine
Its mind-seen light or lessen e'er its force
O'er India's heart. Through Poesy's open doors
We see in it our culture's golden shrine.
Mandhata's reign and Harischandra's truth,
Bhagiratha who brought the Ganga down,
Raghu who ruled the earth from sea to sea,
And Dasaratha great in power and ruth,
And Rama wearing virtue's heavenly crown—
Bright names that kindle power and purity!

Great Thoughts.

[From Tukaram's *Abhangs*]

Ah, then, O God, the efforts all are vain
By which I've sought thy blessed feet to gain.
First there was loving faith, but faith I've none;
Nowise my restless soul can I restrain.

* * *

Then pious deeds, but no good will have I
For these; nor wealth to help the poor thereby;
I know not how to honour Brahman guests;
Alas! the springs of love in me are dry.

* * *

I cannot serve the *guru* or the saint;
Not mine to chant the name, with toil to faint,
Perform the sacred rites, renounce the world.
I cannot hold my senses in restraint.

* * *

My heart has never trod the pilgrim's way;
The vows I make I know not how to pay.
'Ah, God is here,' I cry. Not so, not so.
For me distinctions have not passed away.

* * *

Therefore, I come, O God, to plead for grace,
I, worthy only of a servant's place.
No store of merit such an one requires.
My firm resolve is taken, Tuka says.

Calm is life's crown; all other joy beside
Is only pain.
Hold thou it fast, thou shalt, whate'er betide,
The further shore attain.
When passions rage and we are wrung with woe
And sore distress,
Comes calm, and then—yea, Tuka knows it—lo!
The fever vanishes.

Events of the Week

And so the Labour party has come into power and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has installed himself at 10 Downing Street. We have already in a previous issue referred to what effect the formation of a Labour Government in England would have on the events in this country. That labour could do very little for this country we have made it plain. That a labour ministry was in the running to power was already well known to every student of current events. But now that it is an accomplished fact what little enthusiasm it has evoked in this country would also have been noticed by those who had cared to follow the course of political happenings in this land.

* * *

Just a fews years back the prospects of a Labour Government coming into power would have been hailed with intense demonstrations of joy and thanksgiving throughout this land. Even the Congress, which of late has entirely dissociated itself from worshipping at the altar of Labour, and the British public whose heart was considered very sound, and whose sense of justice and fairplay was in season and out of season praised to the skies,—the Congress would have, five years back, convened a special session to pass resolutions congratulating Mr. Ramsay MacDonald on his installation as the Premier of England. But to-day what do we find ?

* * *

The country has lost all faith in any Britisher, whatsoever his political leanings might be. Liberal, Conservative, Labour, Radical, they are all the same—with the same Imperial notion of keeping India under tutelage. India, during these four years under the inspiration of Mahatmaji, has learnt to be self-reliant and not to look up to a foreign nation for her deliverance. If India is to become truly self-governing the reformation must come from within and not from any outside help, however sympathetic such outside agency might be towards her aims and objects.

* * *

Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, it would be remembered, was actually once proposed for the Congress Presidential chair. Those were days when the Congress itself was maintaining a mendicant attitude and looked up to British statesmen and the British Public for the deliverance of this country. But to-day Mr. Macdonald is the Premier—and what is his message to India. He has preached a long sermon to Indian politicians much in the same way as the earlier ministers had done; to maintain a steady and sober course in the way of constitutional methods. We are sure that the message of Mr. Macdonald would have thrown cold water on the pious hopes of our moderate friends who were eagerly awaiting the advent of Labour for some more political lolipops, and some more crumbs from the master's table.

* * *

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri who, in spite of the kick he received at the hands of Lord Winterton, it seems, has not yet lost faith in the British nation—proposed that Mr. Macdonald must be flooded with telegrams of congratulation from all over this country. This intense faith in a foreign Cabinet is, as is evident, occasioned by the lack of faith in our own selves. Mr. Sastri belongs to that school of politicians who would always look up to some other man to help you in the achievement of your ideals. That is the school of petitions, and prayers, addresses and telegrams. But Mahatmaji has taught the Indians quite a different method—to put our own shoulders to the wheel. That accounts for the fact that Mr. Sastri's latest advice has been, as his other counsels have proved to be, only a cry in the wilderness.

* * *

That nothing could be expected so far as India is concerned from Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's Government, must have been made plain by his message to the people of India —(as cabled by the special correspondent of the *Hindu*). But there are still so many doubting Thomases amongst us. Even these should have taken the hard lesson to heart after the announcement of the formation of the Cabinet. The *Hindu's* special correspondent forewarned us that attempts were being made to keep out both Col. Wedgwood and Mr. Ben Spoor from the India Office, and that some other man with conservative instincts who would safeguard the interests of the I. C. S. in India was put up by vested interests. His warning has come only too true. For while Col. Wedgwood has been awarded a solatium and relegated to the Duchy of Lancaster, and Mr. Ben Spoor is entirely omitted from the list, Sir Sydney Olivier is harnessed to the India Office. We have heard very little of this Olivier. It is given out for our edification that he was a Governor of Jamaica, and held so many other minor posts. We are not concerned as to who steps into the India Office as Secretary of State. Whoever it be, he is, as far as India is concerned, either a King Log or a King Stork—never a Jupiter in his relations with our land. Colonel Wedgwood in spite of his intense sympathy for Indian aspirations, we know, does not view with favour our present political movement. Further he could do very little even if he takes up office. But our present object is not so much as to deprecate the accession to office of this man or that other but simply to draw a moral, viz., that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, even in the formation of his Cabinet, has been more influenced by safeguarding British interests than by any regard for Indian interests. The Labour Party, long expected to come to power, has actually taken office. But India stands where she was. That is a moral which we can ill afford to miss.

* * *

That Mr. Ramsay Macdonald has given himself over to the pressure of vested interests in the choice of his ministers is a lesson which even the Liberals must have taken to heart. The appointment of Sir Sydney Olivier as Secretary of State for India has, it is reported, been received with a sense of relief in the official circles of the Government of India. That Lord Reading was feeling his position somewhat uncomfortable ever since the likelihood of Labour coming into power, was an open secret. There had been vague rumours of his coming resignation for one reason or other, and it was hoped that he would take the opportunity of Labour's accession to power, to relinquish his office.

* * *

But the latest report is that Lord Reading's Govt. have viewed the appointment of Sir Sydney Olivier with feelings of relief not unmingled with jubilation. There is further reason to believe that the Government of India are amply justified in feeling as they do in the matter. It is really a triumph for the tin-gods of Simla and Delhi. It is given out that the Govt. of India used all their influences to bring pressure upon those concerned in the formulation of the new ministry, for safeguarding the vested interests of the British Civilian and Capitatist in India. With this end in view the Government of India had, or believed to have studiously striven their best to keep out Col. Wedgwood and Mr. Ben Spoor from the India Office and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in spite of his professions of sympathy for Indian aspirations, has succumbed to the machinations of the bureaucracy in India.

* * *

It is another case of the betrayal of India's cause when the causes of British Imperialism have to be served. With the opposition of a strong body of Swarajists and Independents in the Assembly here and the formation of a Labour Ministry at Home, the Government of India were faced with a situation which they could not easily meet with. The Assembly claiming more reforms, and a revision of the constitution before the statutory period of ten years, a Secretary of State of the breadth of vision and liberality of views like Mr. Ben Spoor, might naturally go a great way towards the realisation of these claims in actual form.

The Hindu Message

Marriage and Divorce.

This is a ticklish subject for us to deal with, for we belong to a society where divorce through resort to the compulsion of law is non-existent and so discussion in any other than a serious spirit ought to be avoided. At the same time we think from all available and trustworthy accounts, that a critical state of affairs has arisen in Western society in regard to the relations of the sexes which will soon alter the current views prevailing there regarding civilisation, its essential features and aims. Responsible and enlightened men in England speak freely of "the wide-spread revolt against what is called, in general, bourgeois morality, and against the marriage institution," and of "the rapid progress of the divorce movement in all countries." (*The Hibbert Journal*, October 1923). Similarly, knowing men speak of "the extraordinary prevalence of divorce in America at this time" (*The Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1923). This latter writer enumerates as follows some of the causes of this phenomenon:—"the accentuation of competition, the increase of luxury, the higher cost of living, the speeding-up of life, the relaxation of conventional standards of conduct on the part of women, the over-insistence of women on their rights, have all borne their toll of unsuccessful marriages. But beyond all, and often coupled with the others, has been the disappointment that both parties have felt that their marriage has not proved happy. They had been led to believe that their marriage would be happy, not by reason of any courage, self-control, or self-sacrifice on their part, but of the fortuitous circumstance that they were married." "The *great increase of divorce* has not been due to any marked increase of immorality, but rather to a growing lack of sense of responsibility towards the marriage status. Men and girls have rushed into marriage because they were in love. They have been divorced because they were out of love."—The writer in *The Hibbert Journal* probes the matter with some depth when he says of the woman of the West:—"She simply could not bear the idea of a binding tie, of any relation which, pleasing though it might be, had in it the element of compulsion. Not the tie, but the presumption of permanence, the pledging of the will beyond the present moment, is repugnant to her." And again:—"Because marriage is that relation in which the binding tie is most intimate, and where nature seems to impose constraint in the fact of offspring, the attack on marriage is more vehement and convulsive than on any other of the social institutions, and marriage has become the storm-centre of the modern revolt."

According to the ideals of the Middle Ages, when the Christian Church exercised its dominance in Western societies, marriage was regarded as a *sacrament*. Later on, when law-courts came to be regarded as the guardians and supports of the prevailing social and ethical ideals, English jurists, with much show of intellectual independence, announced that "law considered marriage in no other light than a civil contract." A *third* stage was reached "thirty years ago," when, as the same writer (in the *Atlantic Monthly*) says:—"Then there came a complete reversal. Marriage, it was discovered, was no mere contract, but a status arising out of a contract. So the law remains today. Words, words, words."

Why does this writer display so much vehmence? He evidently means that it is a mere difference of phrase, whether we speak of marriage as a civil contract, or as a status arising out of a contract. The fact remains that Western marriage rests upon, and arises out of, the instincts implanted by nature in man. The American writer puts the matter thus:—"Marriage is a selective process of nature. A selective process selects the best adapted to its own purposes." "Marriage, as a selective process, means not only that the more fit marry, but also that the fittest survive the strain and stress of married life. Full normal marriages are followed by parenthood. Marriage entails responsibility, parenthood brings further burdens; and, as the children increase in number and in age, the responsibility becomes the greater and the burden more severe." "Marriage is life at its full, and both a product and an operating agency of natural selection." What is life at its full? He explains:—"It is the product of the divine in man—the unselfish best. It is that unselfish best within him that teaches him to exercise his noblest instinct with self-restraint and to provide for children and the future of the race in the wisest manner he can devise."

Here at last we get at the root-idea which, to the thoughtful and conservative Western mind, still justifies, as it has done during the ages that are past, this great institution so indispensable to the preservation and permanence of life in all its higher forms. The instinct which constitutes the "selective process" of nature is *the instinct of sexual love*. It is also sometimes called an *emotion*. The writer in *The Hibbert Journal* calls it *instinct*, and characterises it as "unstable, capricious, unappeasable, restlessly transitive, the substance of insubstantiality, compact of infidelity and change." It is, then, no wonder that he regards this instinct as "tending towards the impermanence of the relation." The American writer, on the other hand, regards it as an "emotion" and holds that "the continuance of the most fundamental of human relationships, that of husband and wife, cannot be safely made to depend upon the

continuance or cessation of an emotion. Society and the children of the marriage would seem to have some rights less ephemeral than the mere existence of an emotional state of mind in the parents."

All these facts and circumstances connected with the rise of the passion of love—whether we call it the sudden uprising of the impulse of an *instinct* or an *emotion*—have only now been fully understood and avowed in the West, chiefly owing to the perception of the perils to the family and society arising from the recent rapid and extraordinary growth of the enormous evil of divorce. To the Indian mind, however, the mere springing up of an *emotional*, or *instinctive*, impulse has always seemed a sandy and unstable foundation on which to build one of the most fundamental of all social institutions,—the institution of the patriarchal family. The Hindu mind has in consequence, been vilipended and denounced by thoughtless revolutionaries as so grossly demoralised and brutalised by its enslavement to tyranny and priestcraft during untold ages that it can never appreciate the chivalrous spirit of the West which alone can breed or ignite at a stroke the flaming and blazing fires of love in the heart of civilised man. Now at last the Nemesis has come, and it is recognised that none of the basal relationships among human beings in society can rest on a mere instinctive or emotional impulse, or on the impetus which it can impart to the human will. The institution of the family—and the family, too, formed according to sound principles of eugenics and ordered according to those ethical ideals which develop the men of the highest spirituality, the Supermen whose personalities can alone become useful exemplars for the rest of their race or nationality—is the most sacred and indispensable of all human institutions. The mere satisfaction of the sex-impulse however favourable the conditions may be, can never give us a family of this type. Hence, *marriage must not be based on the mere sex-instinct, or sex-emotion, of love, as understood in the West.*

This brings us to our *next* (or *second*) *point*—still negative in its import and bearings—*viz.*, that marriage should not be based, as in the West, merely on the demands of the weak human instinct (or emotion) which finds satisfaction in the production, rearing, and education of children. We purposely call it *weak*,—for, on the one hand, it is apt to be weakened by the clamorous and increasing demands of the passion of sex-love on the time and energies of those who want to be happy in love, and, on the other, by the incalculable demands and exigencies of the civil, social, and political life of the community of which we form a part,—a life full of unsuspected possibilities and surprises in marvellous uplifts of our nationality and race, or of developments of our own individual fate and fortune which destiny may have marked out in order to shed glory on our lives. Especially is this danger apt to beset those who, in these days, fall a prey to "the erroneous opinion, encouraged by Socialism, that systematic education by scientific teachers is preferable to the unsystematic bringing up by parents who yet, whatever else they lack, do supply the indispensable element of unique personal interest and cherishing affection." This state of social opinion—or aspect of social life—in the West is enough to convince us that even where the existence of the family is regarded as necessary and desirable for life—or at least as opening the door to a full life—it is equally (or as frequently) apt to be regarded as bringing untold responsibilities and heart-breaking miseries to the parents. The American writer so often referred to above says:—"Divorce is only a symptom of the disease that corrupts our marriages." The "disease" referred to is the unrecognised fact that marriage in the West is commonly entered into as a result of the working of the two instincts, impulses, emotions or motives so far discussed, and is as commonly productive of miseries and troubles so heart-breaking as to result in the enormous and daily growing evil of divorce. The American writer continues:—"In the discussion of the divorce evil, great confusion occurs ; for, *just as one begins to discuss divorce as an evil, one is forced to the conclusion that divorce is a great boon.* It is hardly more fair to discuss the evils of divorce than it would be to discuss the evils of surgery. It is the tumor in the marriage, not the surgery of the divorce, which is the evil that needs our painful study." Need we describe in detail what is the "tumor" in marriage as it prevails in the West ! Love fades, the old charms and attractions fail, expectations are disappointed, children appear and often in excess, misfortunes occur, resources fail, responsibilities arise and are ever on the increase and so on and on, with the result that *dissolution* appears on the scene as the only *solution* ! Is Divorce, then, no evil, but a boon ? It is accepted as such by the parties to the original marriage which was once hailed as the gracious gift of divine and holy love,—and the world's affairs and the divorced pair, too, get on as usual.

The Hindu conception and ideal of marriage as a Dharma removes "the tumor in the marriage" above referred to and renders unnecessary the resort to "the surgery of Divorce." For, we regard a Dharmic marriage as the divinely-established method of bringing about such a relation of the sexes as would prove a needed and serviceable step in the path which leads to the final goal of life. According to the Hindu Dharma there are four *asramas* (or stages of life) which, succeeding each other in due order, are intended to lead to the Paramatman, the Supreme Self,—the Innermost Bliss of Love beyond all the changes of the phenomenal universe. We do not consider that the relations of the sexes—and, indeed, any relations of any kind among human or other beings—are, in any degree or wise, merely fortuitous, but the result of the residual *vasanas* or tendencies, impulses and impressions left behind by our activities in previous births. We have now to effectuate our deliverance from the bondage of birth and rebirth due to Karma. Marrriage is the *second* of the four stages (*asramas*) of life which we have to go through in life, and is known as *Grihasthasrama*, the householder's stage. It has its troubles and responsibilities,—its passions, its romances, its joys—its rights and its duties. We cannot agree with the American writer above quoted when he says:—"In a successful marriage, *only the children's rights* are worthy of consideration." Our Dharma lays its emphasis more on the *duty aspect*

of life than on life's rights. Indeed, a right and a duty involve each other even as the reverse and obverse sides of a plate or shield ; and so to insist on the one is equivalent to pressing the other's claims. It is in this sense that we can assent to the same writer's statement:—"If marriage is not based on self-sacrifice, it is foredoomed to failure." The idea of self-sacrifice, in our view, involves a self-contradiction. We may sacrifice the lower self in us in order to raise or realise the higher but we cannot sacrifice the self. For, in the very act of sacrificing the self, we need to assert our self. The "self-sacrifice," so-called, in marriage is really only to be fully alive to our duties and responsibilities, and not to insist too much on the privileges and pleasures which, regarded in the abstract or concrete, it is thought to confer on us.

According to Indian ideas, the privileges and pleasures which marriage confers are merely *by-products*, and do not constitute its essence or even its paramount and ultimate purpose and desideratum. Happiness, no doubt, is desired and sought by all,—but only rarely attained or is at best but a momentary attainment, and often too casual to prove satisfying. The same is true of our experience of happiness in marriage, and even in Western marriage. We can all also ask, following our able American referee:—" What ordinance of a good God ever directed that the married should be happy and the unmarried should be unhappy ? What has mere happiness, or what have fortuitous happenings, to do with marriage ? The same writer says truly,—"All questions of happiness and misery are beside the point." We can never count up the degrees of happiness or unhappiness involved in the experiences of our married life so as to reckon up a total upon which to base a conclusion. We cannot even follow the American writer when he says that "marriage is life at its full." For, life can be considered full only when it has achieved its ultimate aim and paramount purpose, and not merely when we go through a passing phase or event, an accidental happening, or a personal preference in our course through it. Marriage, like every other phase and experience in life, has its bright side and its dark side, its pleasures and pains. Marriage by itself, whatever the measure of its experiences of joy, cannot achieve life's supreme end and aim. It is but one phase or stage in our plan and drama of life, and cannot by itself act as the arbiter of our fate and fortune on earth.

According to the Hindu conception of Dharma, marriage is regarded as establishing a permanent relation between husband and wife. Among its by-products is sexual love,—love going through various stages and progressing towards its highest attainable limit of perfection. Hence Dharma does not recognise the possibility of a divorce or dissolution of the marriage-bond or permit the legal or other expedients for bringing it about. Dharma fully recognises the wisdom and value of Christ's precept—"That which God has put together, let no man cast asunder." Marriage is one of the forty holy sacraments enjoined by the Sruti and Smriti, and so is a sacred tie between the sexes. Only death can dissolve the tie,—and, perhaps as some Hindu authorities (like the *Vasishta-Maha-Ramayanam*) hold, not even death can dissove it. The Hindu idea is that the parties to a marriage are brought together in order to be a mutual source of help and strength in co-operating for the attainment of the supreme and paramount purpose for which we are born, and especially in this holy land of Bharata and among the holy people of old who have inhabited it for ever. A famous Sanskrit verse says:—"Having obtained a transient period of life as a human being in this land of Bharata, if one does not do what will gain for him the bliss of the inner self, one surely does himself lasting evil." The very word *Atman*—or Paramatman—(the Self or Supreme Self) shows that all lasting bliss is subjective. Furthermore, the Upanishads describe the Self as *Ananda, Rasa, Premaspada, i.e.*, the transcendental, innermost essence of the bliss of love. The bliss of pure conjugal love in the householder's stage of life (*Grihasthasrama*) is one of the most fundamental among the varied phenomenal aspects of the eternal law and absolute joy of Spiritual Love. "Whoso is alone has no joy,"—so Brahma is stated (by the Brihad-Aranyaka-Upanishad) to have felt when he was started on his share of the function of creating the phenomenal world.

Nothing in the world is single,
All things by a law divine
In one another's being mingle.

(Shelley).

It is true that "the course of true love never did run smooth." But this Shakespearean sentiment does not mean that it is permissible to break its course and dry up the very fountain of "love's gentle balm" simply because we will not wait for it to resume its intercepted flow in all its purity and blessedness. The Innermost Bliss of Spiritual Love is an absolute and eternal experience,—but it is nevertheless true that "the spiritual life (of conjugal love) is a feeble flame that needs to be kept continually kindled and replenished ; the vehicles of it, men and women, how frail are they, and how brief is their hold on existence." Are we to make the reign of love even "briefer" in duration than nature permits by resorting to the cruel device of separation, or even to the still more inhuman, unrighteous, and immoral—though legal—process of dissolving it by divorce.

The enormous evil and crime of divorce, though perpetrated with the connivance, and through the agency, of law-courts will become manifest when we learn, as from Professor Bertrand Russell, that, in Western society, human hypocrisy tolerates deceitful extra-marital relations so long as they "do not lead to children,"—but " allows severe penalties to fall on those which are honest and lead to childern;" that divorce can be secured by " collusive adultery "; that women marry because they love the pleasure and variety of married life and the admiration of men, but hate "the slavery to the body which is involved in having children; that it is the love of freedom and the expense of educating children that keeps increasing numbers of women from

marriage. Modern educational systems breed in women the idea that to keep a home, to be a mother, and to train children are all functions which are parasitic, because they stand in the way of the *economic freedom* which legitimately falls to the share of all who can earn their own living, or the *honor* which attends their taking up, like angels of beneficence descended from heaven, of philanthrophic rescue, preventive, nursing, medical, and other work. Feelings and aspirations like these make for the daily increase of extra-marital relations between the sexes, to collusive adultery, and, lastly, to "the rapid progress of the divorce movement" and "the wide-spread revolt against the marriage institution" in all Western countries. Women come forward in numbers to preach to the world that marriage begins and ends, as it ought to do, with love. Ellen Key further says:—"If some men and women are fit for love, but not for a single life-long love, then the one love idealist has no more right to impose his standard of love on them than they have to impose their standard on him." She calls on all young "free-thinkers" to "regard the sex-question with an open mind." Need we dwell on what the so-called "free-thinking" will lead to in the practice of life and when vicious habits of mind and body are encouraged in regard to sexual love or the relations of the sexes,—and all in the name of a false freedom. Romance in marriage is not confined to the short duration of our life of youth. There is also another and prolonged romance of marriage which men, chastened by the experiences of life, develop in their riper years when the spirit of man, fed and enriched by the unfading power of self-renewal inherent in the conscious service and sincere love of God, is helped to attain to the supreme goal of life in the realisation of the mellowing and sweetening self-effulgence of the Atman which is the Absolute and Innermost Bliss of Love.

Literary and Educational.

Education in Ancient India.

By A. Rama Iyer, M.A.,

(*continued.*)

There was also another great advantage in the ancient system of education. The system of *mass-education* which is prevalent in our present schools and colleges is fraught with much evil. Since all the pupils are taught on the same lines, the ablest among them are necessarily neglected, and prevented from rising to the full height of their possibilities. The least intelligent among them are, on the other hand burdened with too much work and find it very hard to come up to the level of their class-mates; and, in many cases, unable to bear the burden, they suffer badly in health. Further, since all the pupils in a class are forced to study the same subjects and on the same lines, there is no scope at all for the development of their individuality; and this is a great loss to the society as well as to the individual, as the progress of society depends on the level of development reached by the individual. This is why the most advanced educationists today lay so much stress on the individuality being fostered and developed. In the ancient system, this was secured in the most natural manner, and the evils of mass-education were totally eliminated. As each pupil was free to study what he liked, and as no pressure was brought to bear on his natural tastes and capacities, both the individual and the society reaped the benefit in due measure.

We do not, however, pretend that there was no evil at all in the old system. For one thing, there was too much of mere memorising. Of course, memorising is quite necessary and beneficial, if properly done, but memorising without proper understanding is not good. We are afraid that there was a great deal of this kind of memorising in the study of the grammar and the dictionaries. The ancient educational system did not sufficiently recognise vital psychological principles. Of course, in the Saukhya philosophy of Kapila, we find a marvellous development of the science of Psychology, but its application in education was not thought of.

Another defect that has been noticed in the ancient sytem is that the field of choice as regards subjects was not wide enough, and the same books were taught over and over again. Of course, there is much to disprove this statement. We find, for instance, a passage in Chapter VII of the *Chhandogya Upanishad*, in which Narada says to Sanatkumara,—

"ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थमितिहासं पंचमं वेदानां वेदं पित्र्यं राशिं दैवं निधिं वाकोवाक्यमेकायनं देवविद्यां ब्रह्मविद्यां भूतविद्यां क्षत्रविद्यां नक्षत्रविद्यां सर्पदेवविद्यामेतद्भगवोऽध्येमि" । Here is a reference to the Vedas, Itihasas, Puranas, Grammar, Astrology, Mathematics, Logic, Ethics, Vedanta, Archery, Music and Dancing, and it must be admitted that this is a wide range. Nevertheless, all students could not have been instructed in so many subjects. Even those who wished to learn several subjects must have found it difficult to find teachers who were capable of teaching them all. But, at an early stage, great centres of education must have come into being, where all kinds of subjects were taught by different teachers. There were the Parishads and the Vidyapithas, which did excellent work in this direction.

As the Aryans came down into India through the north-west, the earliest Vidyapitha or University is found in that region. The University of Takshasila was famous for centuries, and it is said to have provided instruction in all arts and sciences. There were 16 departments in all, including those of the four Vedas, six Vedangas, Philosophy, Ethics, Medicine, Mantrasastra, Astronomy, Archery, Epics and Puranas, Mathematics, Rhetoric and Grammar. There were also schools for the teaching of arts like Dyeing, Sculpture, and Architecture. The great grammarian Panini and the great statesman Chanakya are said to have been educated here. This University was especially renowned for its department of Medicine. Jivaka, who cured the Magadha king, Bimbasara, was a famous *alumnus* of Takshasila. After a seven years' course at the University, he was asked to examine all the plants and drugs for a radius of 15 miles about the place, and study their medicinal properties. This University held a high place at the time of the emperor Asoka. As Dr. Vincent Smith has pointed out, students of all ages and castes from all over Northern India used to flock to Takshasila for their education.

It is in the Buddhist period that we find the Vidyapithas in the most highly developed condition. Every Vihara, big or small, was converted into a Vidyapitha. The Vihara of Sri Dhanyakataka in the Vidarbha was one of the most famous of these.

and provided instruction in Brahminical as well as Buddhistic lore.

The name of Nalanda is well known even to the man-in-the-street. At a time when Europe was sunk in ignorance this University was giving instruction to at lest *ten thousand* students. Its foundation was laid some seven centuries before the visit of Huen Tsang to India. Among the great patrons of Nalanda were Kings like Sakraditya, Budhagupta, Tathagatagupta, and Baladitya; and in the time of the last, that is, from the latter half of the 5th century, Nalanda attained its highest development. The principal school was in the centre, and it was surrounded by nine other mighty structures. Then there were separate buildings for the residence of the Buddhist monks, with an "operation theatre" among them. The most famous of the University buildings were called *Ratna-Sagar*, *Ratna-Dadhi*, and *Ratna-Ranjak*. The *Ratna-Dadhi* was a vast nine-storied building, and accommodated a Library, which was the biggest of its kind in all India at the time. The education given was both secular and religious; in religion, the Vedas were taught side by side with the Buddhist scriptures. Chief among the subjects taught were Grammar, Logic, Ethics, Philosophy, and Medicine. Both Pali and Sanskrit language and literature were taught. The University was particularly famous for its course in Logic. The Buddhist monks were taught free, with free board and clothing supplied to them. Students used to come to Nalanda from such distant countries as China, Tibet, Korea, and Central Asia. As the professors were great specialists in their subjects, specialisation was more possible here than elsewhere. Nalanda's fame continued till the end of the 9th century.

There were also some other Universities, as, for instance, Udantapuri and Vikramasila in Bihar. The founder of Udantapuri was the King Gopala or Lokapala of Bengal, and that of Vikramasila was his son Dharmapala. This University became quite as famous as Nalanda in the 9th century, and came into great prominence with the decline of Nalanda. The Vidyapithas of Kanouj and Benares are too well known to need special mention. In the time of the Sena Kings of Bengal, that is, in the 12th century, Mithila and Nawadwipa became great educational centres, of which the latter was fortunate enough to survive the Mussalman conquest of Bengal. Here instruction was given in the Smiritis, in Logic, in Grammar, in Poetry, in Astronomy and in Tantra, of which the Logic course was most renowned. The great saint Chaitanya received his education here. Vijayanagar was another famous Vidyapitha in the South. Of all these ancient Vidyapithas, those of Benares and Nawadwipa (Nuddea) alone have survived to this day, though shorn of all their old glory.

To be concluded.

Defects of Rabindranath Tagore's Philosophy.

By K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri, B.A., B.L.

The primary defect of western philosophy, which to some extent colours Tagore's philosophy also, is the inability to keep fully and properly apart the mind and the soul. A lack of keenness of introspective analysis and an unwillingness to accept the truths of revelation are responsible in a large measure for this widely prevalent defect. According to all systems of Hindu philosophy the soul is *Sachidananda* (existence, consciousness and bliss) and is distinct from the mind. Hindu philosophy gives us ample and convincing reasons for this view. Tagore though agreeing with the conception of Hindu philosophy about the nature of the soul is forced either by the limitations of the English language or the confusions of western philosophy or his sympathy with the concepts of western philosophy to bring into his conception of the soul the elements which really belong only to the realm of mind.

A brief reference to the great truths of Hindu philosophy may well be made here. In the Yoga philosophy God is regarded as the omniscient spirit in touch with all souls. In Narada's Bhakti Sutras we are taught that God-vision comes through love and self-surrender. God is Rasa or the soul of delight; He is *Satyam, Sivam Sundaram* (The Absolute True, Good, and Beautiful). The human soul also is consciousness, love and bliss. No man hates himself, however deformed in body or weak in mind he may be. This is because he loves his self. Even suicide is due to love of self leading to the dislike of its present embodiment. The self can never contemplate a time when it will not be or a time when it was not. The self is immortal consciousness and bliss. In love it realises the Supreme Self or God. These truths are realised in the soul where must come for acceptance by the affixing of the royal sign manual of the soul even the proud truths of science that enter by the gate of pure intellect. The universal testimony of the religious consciousness is as valid as the affirmations of the scientific intellect. One fundamental fact which we should never forget is that this idea of soul as pure and infinite consciousness means and implies that it has unobstructed and infinite vision and that the senses and the mind are only the instruments of functioning in the soul's varied embodiments which are due to the operation of beginningless Karma. When by the force of spiritual Sadhanas we realise the real glory of the soul, the splendour of the soul is no longer allowed to come out merely through the senses and the mind, like white light through a prism but shines forth like the sun in heaven with all-inclusive whiteness. The removal of the prism is no loss to the sun. To use Tagore's beautiful simile, the drawing up of the eyelid is no loss to the eye. Certain schools of philosophy affirm, further, that the liberated and pure soul may take into itself pure embodiments for carrying out the errands of the Lord in His infinite missions of love, mercy, and grace. The beauty of the soul is thus a radiance and a glory which a beautiful body merely reflects in some measure. The perfect consciousness of the soul is thus a comprehensiveness of full and direct cognition taking all eternity as its province and ranging over the infiniteness of things by a single act of cognitive possession; and the most perfect mentality merely acts as a channel for the escape of this natural fulness, the force of the flow being determined by the dimensions of the channel and the soundness of its containing banks. The infinite and eternal Bliss of the soul is its limitless joy of love which the ever-widening social and moral relations of earthly life reflect and express better and better. God being the Oversoul, our senses and the mind cannot see Him any more than they can see our self. He is realisable only by the soul. Only like can see like.

Such are the clear declarations of Hindu philosophy in regard to the nature of the soul and the Oversoul. As regards their identity or separteness and as regards the eternal reality of the universe there are differences of view between the monistic and the dualistic schools of thought, but these

differences are really not so very mutually destructive as they are often represented to be. The modern mind in India—Tagore is no exception to it —wants to display its fondness for western realism by ridiculing Sri Sankaracharya's doctrines. These have been attacked for the last two thousand years (I say so because the historical date asssigned to Sankara in modern western historical books is wrong) but their essential truth has given them the dower of immortal life. All the Hindu philosophers properly so-called combat materialism, and show us that life is not the result of material forces but is due to a directing agency guiding the material forces. In them the seed of science blossomed into the flower of philosophy and philosophy burgeoned into the ambrosial fruit of religion. The dualistic school affirms the reality of the world and states that the soul is separate from the Oversoul but is in the eternal and inseparable relation of love to the Oversoul—a relation as near and intimate as that of our body and our soul. God is अनन्तकल्याणगुणनिधिः the infinite abode of all the eternal and innumerable perfect qualities which are noumenal attributes. The soul is atomic but infinite in its knowledge and love and bliss, just as a flame though it is small casts its radiance far and wide. Its fulfilment is in the perfection of its self-surrender to God. दासोऽहम् I am His servant. He is attained by devotion, perfect devotion implying of course perfect knowledge, of the object of such devotion. In the condition of bondage the soul is a wanderer from body to body and sees the flow of time bringing up infinite diversities of sweet and bitter enjoyment; but in the condition of freedom the soul is in the infinite circle of its own eternity, face to face with the glory of God. God created the world out of pity for the souls so that these may work out the fruits of Karma and realise their true nature and His glory. He manifests Himself in five forms—Para, Vyuha, Vaibhava, Antharyami, and Archa (Perfect and Eternal Fulness, basic universal manifestations, incarnations, inner guide, and image for worship)—to lead the whole cosmos of souls to His lotus feet. Sri Sankara does not deny the dualistic view. His theory of planes of being relates the different grades of truth into a state of synthetic fulness. In the state of deep sleep the world of the sense, and the world of mind are not but only the self exists along with the primal nescience. That this is a true experience is clear from the fact of subsequent memory, because a thing cannot be remembered if it had not been experienced. The inter-relations of time and of space are reversed or altered in the dream state and vanish in the state of deep sleep. Time creeps or flies in dreams and forgets the sober pace of the waking state. Space also undergoes queer transformations. Both are engulfed and lost in deep sleep. The bliss of the soul shines forth then and there are no differentiations of time or space therein. Nescience only shadows it. In the turiya state of Samadhi it vanishes. The *akhanda sachidananda* of the self shines forth and is realised. In that condition the realities of the lower plane are transcended and the only one Existence is realised in its true nature. The soul is not a mere abstraction as some who cannot rise to this height of thought describe it. This is the condition of the uttermost fulfilment and realisation. The rhythm of life pushes us every night to the timeless shores of Eternal consciousness and Bliss. But the cloud of nescience is over us there. Remove it and we realise our Soul for ever. The music of the spheres on this shore of the stream of Time is lost in the full melody of silence on the shore of eternity. Such a condition is not a mental abstraction but the uttermost fulness. Sankara does not deny the existence of a Personal God and our realisation of Him in Love. Indeed his devotional poems are among the sweetest in the world. He discloses to us the highest plane of cosmic consciousness which is not a contradiction of other truths but is an inclusive fulfilment and fulness.

I have been explaining these great philosophic truths to point out that in India the soul's true nature as apart from the mind has been discovered and proclaimed by all the highest thinkers. There is not the same clear realisation or declaration of the true nature of the soul in Tagore's works. He is naturally more attracted by the Vaishnava doctrines than by the monistic doctrines. But that is a matter of no moment, as the dualistic school is as vital a portion of our philosophy as the monistic school and as further there is no deadly antagonism between the two as shown above by me. But Tagore's philosophy is coloured through and through by the pseudo-humanism of the West which can never fully realise eastern spiritualism and must and will carry the prism of the mind into the daylight of the spirit. Again, his Brahmo ancestry and training have led him to narrow the circles of the *sadhanas*. In India the ceremonial portion of religion, the ethical portion of religion, and the doctrinal portion of religion have been in perfect harmony. The soul is taught to realise its nature through renunciation, service and love; and the *samskaras* help it in this work of self-liberation. Tagore has not much faith in this and ridicules renunciation. But renunciation is the fulfilment of philonthropy and service and love. Indian renunciation is not a flying from life; it is a procession through life to reach the lotus feet of God. Western humanism stops at philonthropy which has been well called social scavengering. Tagore is not fully prepared to go beyond this condition. There is a good deal of misconception about the highest Hindu view on this matter. न कर्माणि त्यजेद्योगी कर्मभिस्त्यज्यते ह्यसौ । (A yogi should not renounce works but the works will renounce him). When the burden of Karma is thrown off through our life of purity and righteousness and service, action falls off from us as a flower falls off from the hand of a sleeping man. सुप्तहस्तस्य पुष्पवत् । Tagore further gives us only a limited application of Karma, Bhakti, and Jnana, and his conception of meditation is thin and incomplete in comparison with the strength and fulness of the Yoga philosophy. Further, he has not a clear and strong faith in the Hindu theory of incarnation and he has denied to himself the raptures that are born of Hindu symbolism and image-worship and that are enshrined for all time in perfect devotional epics like the *Bhagavata* and in the perfect devotional songs of Saiva and Vaishnava saints of Northern and Southern India.

How well-founded my criticism is will be clear from the view of Professor S. Radhakrishnan in his excellent book THE PHILSOPHY OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE, which came to my hands after this book* of mine had been planned and written out. He says: "Between the stern philosophy of Sankara with its rigorous logic of *negation* and the ascetic ethic of *inaction* and the human philosophy of Rabindranath

* "Rabindranath Tagore—Poet, Patriot and Philosopher" by K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri B.A., B.L.—To be published shortly by Messers V. Narayan & Co., Madras.

Tagore, it is war to the knife." I cannot but say about this that the view is vitiated by basic errors as regards the nature and content of Sankara's thought. Professor Radhakrishnan is full of admiration for Tagore's philosophy. I do not yield to him in this respect. Tagore is the greatest of the modern revealers of the elements of truth and beauty and sweetness in life. But we cannot give him more than his due place amidst the *durbar* of Indian thought.

Miscellaneous.

What India needs to-day.

On the 13th inst., under the auspices of the Hindu Mathabhimana Sangam of Nagapatam, Dr. N. Subrahmanya Iyer, Retired Senior Dewan Peishkar of Travancore delivered an interesting and instructive lecture on 'What India needs to-day'. Mr. K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Sub-Judge, Negapatam presided. The lecturer said as follows:—What India needs to-day is to live. She has to do so in the midst of the various forces working in the country. And she can live only if she can discriminate between the forces that make for life and the forces that make for extinction. To know what are the forces that make for life, one has to know what life is. Life is a complex of mutuality and a nation that preserves that mutuality can alone live. Mutuality can alone come from a state of permanent settled relationship and if India or for that matter any nation should live, it should possess and preserve such a permanent relationship. That will be the "permanent settlement" of that India. India said Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer needed such a permanent settlement, and would define it not merely as the settlement of the amount of money which the members of a body-politic should contribute to the protecting organs to enable it to maintain itself and do its duty. He would define 'permanent settlement' as the permanent settlement of the rights, duties and responsibilities between all the component organs of a social organism as well as the fixation of the prices of each function. While the price of the protecting function is known as tax, the price of the religious service would be charity, beneficial danam or dakshina. The price of the producing labour would represent cost or value or price of a thing as it is generally called, and what the distributing or commercial man gets would be the profits or interest on his capital. Thus then the idea of permanent settlement must be greatly widened if the national outlook should be brighter.

For this purpose Mr. N. Subrahmanya Iyer pleaded for organisation work beginning with the village upwards; and 'organisation' was the establishment of functional links between family and family. He exhorted the members of the Sabha to first organise themselves for this work of true nation-building. An eight anna subscription by each of the 120 members of the Sabha would mean 60 Rupees a month; and if they would appoint a full time secretary, much could be achieved. An economic census of the whole town with the members of families engaged in each occupation, the income per family from each occupation, should be taken and steps should be planned to increase the markets both within and outside and thereby heighten the wages of each functionary. This will be the repairing and strengthening of the existing organism and the enabling of it to live in a state of responsible inter-dependance—a state of conscious mutual self-enslavement. That will be the creation of divine democracy. He pleaded for all movements great or small being started with a clear vision of starting-point and goal and with knowledge of why we are, where we are and how we can be where we wish to be. It is the absence of this essential pre-requisite that accounts for the breaks and break-ups of most modern-day movements. It is the want of a plan that makes ideals look impracticable and secure for their propounders the designation of visionaries.

The Chairman thanked the distinguished lecturer for his valuable speech. Every man—nay, every nation—is what his *sraddha* (deep and disciplined and rational faith) is. What is the cause of modern unhappiness? It is the modern view of life. Competition has been exalted into a law of Nature. Modern reconstruction is based on the renewed realisation of two ancient truths—that the world is wide enough for all and each nation is entitled to self-determination and that the true maxim of life is, each for all and all for each. The lecturer's organismal conception of national and international life is an up-to-date and valuable life. But worldly life is not an end in itself. The real and eternal value of life is not merely in the minimisation of competition and maximisation of co-operation but in the illumination, the purification, and the consecration of life as the means of God-love and God-realisation. Religion has revealed this basic truth to man. We must preserve the Indianness of India in educational, economic, civic, political and religious life by realising its essential elements and guarding them with jealous care.

With a vote of thanks proposed by the Secretary of the Sangham, Mr. N. Sambasiva Iyer, the meeting terminated.

The Influence of the Press on the Development of Empire.

By The Right Hon. Viscount Burnham, C. H.

(*Continued*)

In the Dominion of Canada the Newspaper Press, has had at least as much influence as in the United States, numbers and nature, in different proportions, giving the same advantage to newspaper publicity as against the Parliamentary principle in the one case as in the other. Local news is of predominant interest to both, and distances give locality a different significance when you are dealing with a country which exceeds in size even the United States. Was it Kipling who said that there was little flavour or colour about Canadian journalism? If so, it springs from what must be, to some extent, although always a law of diminishing returns, the crudities of life, of which Carleton, in one of his Farm Festivals, says feelingly:—

"It ain't the funniest thing a man can do
Existing in a country when it's new.........
Till finally it appears to her some day
That he has made arrangements for to stay."

So the very difficulty of communications gave birth to newspapers in Canada not much later than in England or in the American Colonies further south; in fact, the earliest newspaper in Canada was published in Halifax three years after its foundation, in 1752. For seventy-eight years the *Halifax Gazette* was issued in English and French and for thirty eight years more in English only. To-day, Canadians have one hundred and twenty six daily newspapers for eight million people, against one hundred and eighty odd in Great Britain and Ireland for a reading public of forty five million. The Canadians are a news loving people, and they have altogether fifteen hundred and forty newspapers, but out of them, one thousand and seventy three are weeklies, and it is the weekly paper which is the standing dish of the country and the country towns, so, perhaps it is no exaggeration to say that in no great state is public opinion so much press made and press cut as it is in Canada. Up in the Peace River district, three hundred miles from Edmonton, there are

already two newspapers. In fact the Canadians may be said to chew their newspapers in the grim and lonely silences of the prairie and Arctic circle.

During the middle of the last century the great battle of confederation was mostly fought out in the columns of the Press, and the name of Joseph Howe, for so many years Premier of Nova Scotia was one of the most notable among the "able editors" of the British Empire seventy years ago. In his Biography there is an apostrophe to the editor's chair, which he lauds to the skies as the most powerful of the seats of the mighty, at once a confessional and a judge's bench.

The newspaper Press of Canada has been a virile and an independant organisation, not specially linked, as a rule, to any party caucus and turning from side to side as needs must I do not say "as the devil drives." To some extent the Farmers's Party, now so important in national politics, was the creation of a Press campaign. It naturally follows that a large proportion of the Federal and the Provincial Ministers have been trained in newspaper offices. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a newspaper editor in the early manhood, and the present Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, was once a reporter on the Toronto *Globe*, so that it is probable that in none of the Dominions of the Crown have newspaper men taken so large a share of political power.

The Canadian Press has many of the features of the American Press, alike in its contents and its make up, but it is more sober, more restrained and less vitriolic. That it tends to the American quality of standardisation, merit or demerit as you may consider it, is not to be denied, but always in criticising that which appears to us to make for triteness and monotony, one must have in mind the overpowering effect of the magnificent distances that separate east and west, almost as much as "the everlasting sea." The fact that the same supplements are in common use on both sides of the border is not of itself a proof of identity of taste, although it points to a growing identification of public acceptance. The sections of weekly editions published in the United States on Sunday and in Canada on Saturday, for the Canadians are sabbatarian in their newspaper habits, are, it is true, largely the same. Buster Brown is an international prodigy. The reason, however, is largely commercial, and bears on fiscal controversies at home, as your noble chairman will note. Buster Brown is a surplus product which, with the Chinese Wall of a secured home market in the Union, can be dumped down for a song, or, shall I say, for a much depreciated currency, on the foreign markets. I have ventured on this digression, because the Canadian Press is undoubtedly an Anglo-American medley, which expresses the curious amalgam of a joint civilisation.

The freedom of the Press is distinctly British in its origin and in its extension throughout the British world, and without it British freedom would have no meaning and no guarantee. Whatever examples you may find in the archæology of the newspaper Press of early precedents, they are curious rather than useful to the right understanding of the subject. No doubt Herodotus, in a sense, was the father of journalism, just as he was the father of history, and Julius Cæsar was the first and best of war correspondents, especially in his model clearness and compression. Political placards have been found written on the walls of the houses of Pompeii, and the "Acta Diurna" are a Parliamentary journal of the earliest type. Yet for practical purposes, in appreciating the influence of the newspaper Press, not only in Great Britain, but throughout the English-speaking world you need not go back far beyond the opening years of the 18th century, and follow it through the series of "Posts" and "Courants" which were published in quick succession, not only in London, but in other big towns and in the larger settlements across the seas. In the Rambler, that most English of Englishmen of letters, Dr. Jhonson, the patron saint of Fleet Street, says that "curiosity is the thirst of the soul." We do not mean what he calls the "cobwebs of a petty inquisitiveness which is the attribute of the untutored mind of the simple savage." But he is supremely right, and not a bad account of our modern civilisation would be to call it the gradual growth of organized curiosity.

For nearly a hundred years newsletters had been written in London and sent out to be read on payment of a small fee to those who dwelt in other parts of England, and this is a curious anticipation of the *London Letter*, which formerly gave the only general news that was circulated to the public in all but a select few of the provincial papers in England. Even now, the *London Letter* is a prominent and interesting feature, which is generally written by several hands and made up by an able editor of the various paragraphs into a more or less coherent whole. There are cases where it is almost all the work of a single pen, and such newspapers as the *Manchester Guardian* have had well-known men of letters, like the late G. W. E. Russel, as their London correspondents.

To be continued.

Unwarranted interference with religious Duty.

Hindus all over the country owe a deep debt of gratitude to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Pandit Jawharalal Nehru for the bold stand made by them against the unwarranted interference by the District Magistrate of Allahabad with their religious duty. Thousands of Hindus had assembled at Allahabad for bathing at the Sangam on the occasion of the Ardha Kumbha Mela on Makara Sankaranti day. The Mela takes place every six years and attracts a verv large number of Hindus who consider it their religious duty to have a dip at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna at Prayag. As usual Hindus of all denominations and from every part of the country had assembled at Allahabad on the 14th instant to bathe at the Sangam or the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamna. There were prominent among them the Sanyasis belonging to different sects.

Tht Ganges has this year changed its bed and its bank near the Sangam is steep thus necessitating the adoption of proper precautionary measures for the safety of the bathers. The District Magistrate of Allahabad instead of making proper arrangements in time for enabling the Hindus to bathe at the Sangam without any risk foolishly insisted that no one should be allowed to bathe there. Hardly could the District Magistrate have an adequate idea of what his extraordinary order meant. From time immemorial the Hindus have regarded the bathing at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamna as a most meritorious religious duty. The order of the District Magistrate was to them a bolt from the blue. None but those fully acquainted with the spirit of sacrifice with which Hindus are inspired even in these degenerate days can adequately appreciate how the prohibitory order of the District Magistrate produced a most deep sensation among the Hindus assembled at the holy city of Allahabad on a most momentous occasion.

Pandit Malavya tried to impress on the local authorities the serious effect of thus closing the Sangam to the Hindus, but to no effect. Only two days before the auspicious occasion, telegrams were sent to the Governor of the Province intimating His Excellency of the gravity of the situation. It must be said to the credit of Sir William Marris that he realised the situation and made a special grant of Rs. 30,000 for making necessary arrangements for the safety of the bathers at the Sangam. Although it was too late, willing volunteers at once came forward to help in making the "Sangam" a safe place for bathing and all arrangements were nearly complete for preventing any mishap. Notwithstanding this, we are told by our Allahabad correspondent, the District Magistrate on the very night of the previous day, that is on the 13th instant, intimated to the public that he would not allow anybody to bathe at the Sangam and the Sankaranti day

opened, we are told by our correspondent, with the river presenting the appearance of a besieged city. Could folly and interference with religious duty of the Hindus go further? Vast numbers of police mounted and military, paraded the streets presumably to overawe the Hindus who had gathered there from thousands of miles away to have a dip at the Sangam. Pandit Malaviya exhausted all his arts of persuasion to convince the Magistrate that such an action would mean an unwarranted interference with the religious liberty of the people but all his arguments apparently fell on deaf ears and the lord of the district was obdurate and would not budge an inch.

We fully admit that it is the duty of the District Magistrate to adopt all precautionary measures and to make the necessary sanitary arrangements on these occasions. But why did he not try to make the arrangements for the safety of the bathers in time? For it was only two days before the Sankaranti that a representation was made to the head of the Province who at once sanctioned Rs. 30,000. The Magistrate thus obviously failed in the performance of his duty.

The treatment accorded by the Magistrate to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and thousands of Hindus gathered at the Sangam, as alleged by our correspondent would rouse the deepest feeling of indignation all over the country. Thanks, however, to the spirit of Satyagraha with which the foolish order of the District Magistrate inspired the people, they were resolved rather to die for performing their religious duty than to submit to the arbitrary order of a Magistrate who being a foreigner could not realise the effect of his order. Pandit Malaviya was also joined in his laudable fight for the religious rights of the Hindus by Pandits Purushottamdas Tandon and Jawaharalal Nehru and other Hindu leaders of Allahabad to all whom the country, and particularly the Hindus, owe a deep debt of gratitude.

—*The Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

Correspondence.

Hindu College of Divinity.

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* * * *

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